when change has meant improvement. Along with the political organization of the Empire and its maintenance o-f Confucian orthodoxy, the family has been a chief factor making for a relatively static civilization. We need not here enter upon a discussion of the relative merits of such a society and of a rapidly changing one, like the modern Occident, or debate whether that movement which the West calls "progress" is really such. The difference between the two civilizations which has repeatedly been apparent in the preceding chapters is due in no small degree to the strength and nature of the Chinese family. The family, moreover, has discouraged individualism. Chinese life, as we have seen, has been in groups of many kinds, each of which has exercised a restraining influence upon its members. Of these none has been quite so strong the country over as the family. The contrast between the individualism of the modern Occident and the lack of it in the old China is striking. In China the individual did not make his own decisions. Social determinism prevented any marked development of private conscience or of moral will. With so much of life confined to and controlled by the family, adjustment to the established group and to its opinion was the supreme requirement. It was not abstract right, of which the individual must be the judge and for which he must ultimately be responsible, but expediency which governed action. The family has been a major obstacle in adopting and making effective in China some of the institutions of the modern Occident. For example, as we have seen, loyalty to the family has stood and often still stands in the way of operating efficiently such

typical Western devices as the stock company and a strong government. The traditional ethics which stress devotion to one's family have often made it seem natural and moral for an official in a business concern to bring into lucrative positions as many of his relatives as possible, regardless of whether they are fitted for them. It has also made it seem right to use public office to restore the family fortunes and appoint relatives to public posts, even when to do so has jeopardized the well-being of the state. In the fierce international competition of the modern world the state tends to insist more and more upon primary allegiance to itself. Anything short of this, it believes, imperils its existence. In China the relation of prince to minister has been only one of five and